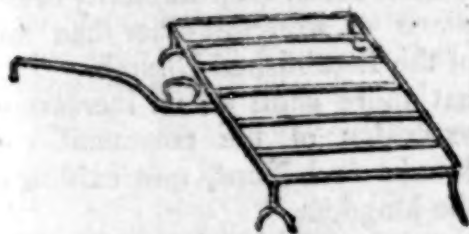


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It is said that the forty-shilling freeholders are to be abolished. Let them attempt it: it will destroy the entire grace and effect of the concession: in the next place, within a fortnight after the Bill shall have passed, there shall not be a single bank note in circulation, nor fifty pounds' worth of excisable commodities consumed in Ireland."—*O'Connell's Speech, Freemasons' Tavern, Wednesday 25th February, 1829.*

TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

## EXPOSURE OF THE POLITICAL IMPOSTOR, BIG O.

*Barn-Elm Farm, 12th March, 1829.*

MY FRIENDS,

NUMEROUS are the exposures which I have made in my lifetime; numerous the impostors and the hypocrites from whose filthy visages I have stripped the mask; but, never had I before to do with an impostor like this, nor with one approaching to any thing like a parallel with him. I address myself to you on this occasion, because you must have observed with what pertinacity I have clung to the opinion that this man would finally play false. People have laughed, and thought me in jest, when I said this political mountebank would *never come to take his seat*: my own personal friends have laughed most heartily when they have heard me repeat it verbally. Why, upon the face of the thing, the opinion did appear to be something monstrous: it appeared to be impossible that the opinion should be seriously entertained; but, my Friends, I had seen O'CONNELL's treacherous attempts in 1825; and I had had three years wherein to fathom the depth of his hy-

pocrisy, falsehood, impudence, and political perfidy; and therefore, impossible as it was for me to get quite to the bottom of them; impossible as it was for me to describe how very base the man was, I had fathomed deep enough to make it safe for me to conclude, that he would never go to the House to take his seat; and therefore, in that opinion I have persevered, even after he had got upon the spot.

Now, my friends, before I proceed to exhibit in his true light this incomparable impostor, let me describe to you the Catholic measure which is about to become a law; for you must see the whole of that measure, before you can rightly judge of this man's conduct. There are to be two Bills, which are to become laws: the one for granting to the Catholics civil rights, which they do not now enjoy: the other, to take from them civil rights, which they have enjoyed ever since the year 1793; that is to say during the last thirty-five years.

The first of these Bills is called a Relief Bill: the second must be called the Disfranchisement Bill. The Relief Bill itself will be found to have something of disfranchisement in it; but the Disfranchisement Bill is purely an act for taking away a part of the liberties of the people of Ireland in a direct manner, while it may serve as a precedent for taking away the liberties of Englishmen also. Leave was given on Monday night to bring in the two Bills, and on Tuesday night they were brought in, and ordered to be printed. I shall not be able to get at the printed Bills for several days; but I can state the nature of the measures to you, from the description given of them in the fine four hours' speech of that "nice young gentleman" (now nearly fifty years of age), late member for the University of Oxford, and now under the liberal patronage of SIR MANASSEH LOPEZ, one of the representatives of the Borough of WESTBURY; a thing as ripe as a medlar.

The RELIEF BILL provides as its

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rule, that there shall be an *equality* of *civil rights* amongst Catholics and Protestants of all descriptions. That, accordingly, Catholics are in future to be allowed to be sheriffs of counties and cities; allowed to be justices of the peace; allowed to be mayors, aldermen, common-councillors, and to fill all other offices in corporations; allowed to be judges, privy-councillors, to fill all offices, however high, in army and navy, and all offices in the ministry; the office of prime minister by no means excepted; and that they are to be allowed to enjoy any or all of these without taking any of the oaths, levelled at the POPE or their faith, to the taking of which oaths they have hitherto objected.

Such is the *rule* of this Bill, and by this *rule* Catholics are put upon a perfect equality with Protestants. But there are some *exceptions*, which are also called *securities* for the Established Church. And I beg you to pay attention to these, which I will state in little distinct paragraphs; and, for the purpose of more easy reference hereafter, number them from one to the end.

1. No Catholic is to fill the station of Lord High Chancellor of England, nor that of LORD LIEUTENANT of IRELAND.
2. Catholics are to continue to be excluded from all offices and powers in both Universities, and from the Colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eton, and from offices in all other public schools from which they are now excluded.
3. Catholics are not to hold any offices in Ecclesiastical Courts.
4. Catholics are not to have the power of presenting Clergymen to livings in the Established Church.
5. No Catholic, though he may be the Prime Minister, is to be allowed to advise the Crown relative to the appointment of persons of any ecclesiastical dignity in the Established Church.
6. If a Catholic should hold an office, to which Church Patronage is attached, the Crown shall be empowered to appoint a commission to exercise this patronage.
7. Catholic judges, mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, sheriffs, boroughreeves, and the like, are not to go with the insignia of their office, or appear in their robes of their authority in any place of worship other than that of the Established Church.
8. That there shall be no increase or extension of the communities of Monks and Nuns, now existing in the kingdom.
9. That persons belonging to the order of *Jesuits* shall be *registered*, and that no addition to their numbers shall be permitted to take place by persons coming from abroad.

Such, my friends, is the RELIEF BILL to be: such the new privileges granted to the Catholics, and such the *securities* for the permanency of the Established Church. The Catholics are to be bound by a new oath; for, in this most swearing country, which, small as it comparatively is, swears more than all the rest of the world put together, it would be strange indeed, if there were not to be some swearing in the case. However, it seems as far as I could gather from the speech of the "nice young man" of nearly fifty; that "steady young man," whose father had a *presentiment*, and who seems to spin out a warp of speech with as much facility as the rotten cottons are turned off from one of his father's machines; as far as I can gather from this speech, there are to be two sorts of oaths; two distinct volumes of swearing, one for the Catholics, and one for the Protestants: one for the ancient religion, one for the modern religion: one for the religion which kept the poor out of the tithes, and one for the religion which caused paupers and poor rates to arise. However, this oath may not be correctly reported in the newspapers; and therefore, it will be time enough for us to speak particularly about that, when we have the printed bill actually before us.

Amongst the above-mentioned nine species of securities to the Established Church, which you will observe are equal in number to the lives of a cat, and are expected, perhaps, to have the





of notice now, and I mention it, to do honour to the memory of the party. During the discussions on the treaty of AMIENS, Mr. WYNDHAM borrowed pretty freely from passages in a Register published a few days before, without actually mentioning that he had so borrowed, but doing it so openly, and in my own very words, that he knew it was clearly understood by every one, that he was repeating my arguments and opinions; otherwise he was much too honourable a man not to have named me. HILEY ADDINGTON, who was then in some high office under the great ADDINGTON, who is now SIDMOUTH, of RICHMOND PARK, got up, directly after Mr. WYNDHAM, and, putting on a look, *peculiar* to the illustrious family to which he belonged, said, "surely I have seen "the Right Honourable Gentleman's "arguments and opinions in print within "these very few days;" and, on he went amidst the cheers of brother HENRY, and BRAGGE, and BOND, and VANSITTART, and the whole set. When Mr. WYNDHAM came to reply, he began with brother HILEY, and said, "the Honourable Gentleman has, with that great "acuteness and sagacity which belongs "to him, traced my opinions and arguments to a periodical publication that "came forth a few days ago; but, Sir, "in the absence of all *argument* on the "part of the Honourable Gentleman, in "the way of answer, has he not made a "mistake, and added force to the opinions "and arguments of which it was his "object to destroy the effect? Very "true, Sir, he may have read these precise opinions and arguments in the publication to which he alludes; but, after "congratulating the Honourable Gentleman upon being in a course of reading "which is the most likely of all others "to add to his stock of useful information, let me observe that he has, by no means, weakened that which he manifestly wished to destroy; for, what "has he established by his observations? "Why this, that there is one other person in the world, at any rate, who "thinks as I think upon this important subject; and, for myself I will say, that "I set a higher value upon the opinions of

"that other person than I have the presumption to set upon my own." I need not say how foolish brother HILEY looked after this; and I need not say any thing to cause the reader to believe that Mr. WYNDHAM was precisely the reverse of those poor, silly, envious creatures, of whom we have seen so many for the last few years, and of whom we see more and more every day of our lives. Why, my Friends, after I have done with a subject, after it has passed through my sieves, and been winnowed by my fan, what is there for any of these people to find out? When I have gleaned the field, can there be any thing but empty straw for them to collect together? Let them pass their Bills; let them *pass* them, and then we shall see what can be said about them; except, indeed, the Forty-shilling Freeholders' Bill, and upon that, especially as is connected with the conduct of O'CONNELL, we can pronounce at once.

My Friends, how often have I said that this man would abandon these poor unfortunate freeholders! The Bill about to be brought in, and now brought in, I suppose, will take away from these freeholders the right of voting at elections, which right was granted them in the year 1793, and is to raise the pecuniary qualification for voting; from forty shillings to ten pounds; and, of course, is, according to a moderate computation, to deprive about three hundred thousand men of their right of voting at elections. The great object of this I need not explain to you: you will see at once what it means: it is the same in spirit to the Septennial Bill, and all the other various measures for preventing the people at large from having a voice in choosing the members of the House of Commons. All this you will understand clearly, without any observations of mine, or of any body else; but what I wish you to do now is to look at the conduct of this O'CONNELL as connected with this matter. Mr. HUNT, as soon as the project for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders was made public, addressed a letter to O'Connell, which was published in the MORNING HERALD on the 9th March. That letter revives the



recollection of facts, and states them with the greatest precision, and in the best possible order; and, therefore, that letter, I shall, in justice to the writer, and in justice to my readers, insert here, before I proceed further.

TO MR. O'CONNELL.

36, Stamford Street, March 8.

SIR,—The grand secret is disclosed! Emancipation is to be granted! *The forty-shilling freeholders are to be disfranchised!!!* while Daniel O'Connell remains quiet in his lodgings, without making any attempt to redeem his pledge to the people of Ireland, by taking his seat in the House of Commons, as Member for Clare!!!!

These, Sir, are eventful times; and, while these mighty changes are about to take place, such a man as Daniel O'Connell, the *Liberator*—the *representative* of all Ireland—should not, in my humble opinion, be “standing idle in the market-place.” In my last letter I took the liberty to raise my warning voice, and to caution you, not so much against the “ides of March” as against the fatal influence of that treacherous faction, the Whigs. I did this, Sir, in consequence of your having declared yourself a determined *Radical Reformer*, knowing, as I do, that the Whigs are the most cruel and vindictive enemies of Radical Reform, and of all sincere Reformers. I cautioned you also not to place too great reliance on the apostacy of such men as Derry Dawson and Mr. Peel. I think, Sir, by this time, you must at least admit (however officious you may have thought it at the time) that such admonition was not altogether unworthy your attention.

It is said that you and some of your countrymen assembled at the Thatched House Tavern on Friday, the day after Mr. Peel's development of these measures, and that you unanimously agreed to a resolution, condemnatory of the disfranchisement of the poor forty-shilling freeholders, and that you sent a copy of this resolution to Sir Francis Burdett, that he might submit *your opinions* to a body of his brother Whigs who were assembled at his house. *Gracious God, what an effort!!!* It appears, also, that the said Whigs treated your opinions and suggestions to oppose the disfranchising part of the scheme with sneers, and the most ineffable contempt; in fact, their conduct in the House proved the correctness of this report, for not one of them made any, the slightest, effort to oppose that part of the measure.

But, Sir, although this *resolution* was sent to Sir F. Burdett, some of your countrymen have gone so far as to say that there was a *private and confidential intimation* also conveyed at the same time, which, in some measure, justified the silence of the parties in the House. The whole proposition, *disfranchising* and all, was carried by an overwhelming majority, every one of your friends, the Whigs,

voting with the Government for the measures. Now, Sir, this is all very consistent on the part of the said Whigs, because they have never declared themselves hostile to the measure. It is said that you, and about twenty of your countrymen, pretty unanimously agreed to present a petition to Parliament against *disfranchising* the poor, deluded, duped, ruined, deserted, and abandoned freeholders; and give me leave to ask what weight this will have with the Honourable House? Is there a man amongst you that believes it will have any weight at all? Do you think that there is one man in the House who will vote against the measure in consequence of the said petition? I say there is not one. Well, it is also said that a proposition has since been made at the Thatched House, to address the people of Ireland, urging them to *resist this measure*, by sending over petitions against it—but that this proposition was *opposed by you* and not adopted by the Meeting. Why, really, this looks like child's play, or something worse; let us first see what the people of Ireland, or, at least, what the Association has said on this subject, and then we will see what *you* have said also.

At an aggregate meeting of Catholics of Ireland, held in the city of Dublin, on Tuesday, the 16th of Dec. last, the following resolution, amongst many others, was unanimously carried:—

“Resolved—That we would prefer a *perpetual exclusion from our remaining civil rights, to any emancipation coupled with any limitation or diminution of the elective franchise.*”

In addition to this clear and explicit declaration, the Catholic Association of Ireland, at the moment of its dissolution, on the 12th of Feb., came to the following resolution unanimously:—

“That any Bill of Emancipation, accompanied with any encroachment upon the rights of the *forty-shilling freeholders*, or with any interference, direct or indirect, on the part of the Crown, with the discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland would, instead of giving peace to this distracted country, only produce deep and general discontent, and rouse every manly breast to the most decided opposition. That should such measures be introduced, every parish would be bound instantly to assemble, to denounce, in the strongest terms, an attack upon the *rights of men*, whose constitutional conduct constitutes their only crime, and an *intermeddling* with a priesthood, who, for virtue, piety, and implicit obedience to the laws, are revered throughout the civilised world.”

These are the fixed, determined, and unalterable declarations of the Catholic Association of Ireland, and no man who has subscribed to them, that possesses a particle of public honour or political integrity, will ever depart from them, till he becomes, like Mr. Peel, like PEEL, I say, from which fate, God

preserve every man for whom I have ever felt the smallest particle of respect!

Now, Sir, allow me, who have got a good memory on such occasions, to remind you, and to call to your recollection, some of the solemn declarations that you have made on this all-absorbing and all-important subject. I will pass over the declarations that you made to the electors of Clare, when you were going there, during the election, and after you were declared by the Sheriff to have been duly elected: however important these repeated declarations may have been, and still are, you having made them "on the indenture," yet I will pass them by for the present, and only revert to those that must be within your immediate recollection, as well as in the recollection of every one who heard you give utterance to them. At a meeting in the parish of St. Audeon's, in Dublin, held immediately preceding your quitting that city to come to *take your seat* in the English Parliament, you fearlessly and unequivocally proclaimed yourself a *Radical Reformer*, and said, when you got into Parliament you would never cease your endeavours to obtain such a Reform in the Representation as would secure to *every man* a vote in the Representation, *frequent Parliaments*, and the protection of the ballot—that you would never rest satisfied till the *temporalities of the Church were sheared down*. You very properly eulogised the virtue and patriotism of the devoted *forty-shilling freeholders*, and promised never to abandon them. This, the newspapers informed us, was the substance of your declarations immediately before you left Dublin to come here. But, Sir, I now come to your solemn declarations made in my hearing, and in the hearing and presence of 300 Englishmen, at the Freemasons' Tavern, on Wednesday, the 25th of February, since the meeting of Parliament, and just twenty days after the King's Speech, recommending the whole state of Ireland to be taken into consideration. At that meeting you unequivocally and deliberately declared yourself a *Radical Reformer* in the true and undisguised sense of the words, after declaring your reverence for the Throne, and your love for the Peerage, you claim for *every man* unstained by crime, a right to vote for Members of Parliament, that elections should be *frequent*, and, next, the absolute necessity of *voting by ballot*. Thus you stand confessed a real *Radical Reformer*. Next you came to the question of Emancipation, and you emphatically spoke as follows:—"It was said 'the forty-shilling freeholders were to be abolished. Let them attempt it. It would destroy the entire grace and effect of the concession. In the next place, within a fortnight after the Bill was passed, there would not be a single bank note in Ireland, nor fifty pounds' worth of exciseable commodities consumed. For his own part, if such an Act passed, he pledged himself not to take or consume any article that paid duty, until it was repealed—neither tea, sugar,

*wine, nor spirit, should approach him*. It might be said that he had not influence to persuade the people so to act; but let it be remembered that 5,000 Irishmen came every day in the week into the town of Ennis, in the heat of summer, and remained with lips dry and parched until victory was proclaimed." This was not an idle boast, but a solemn, deliberate pledge. Mr. Peel, in answer to the proposition made in 1825, to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland, said "*That any person consenting to such disfranchisement was a traitor to the Constitution, and undeserving of participating in the advantages of the Constitution.*" I say amen, with all my soul! But we all know Mr. Peel, and we know such a declaration coming from him was like unto the devil quoting Scripture—but the declarations coming from you, Sir, are quite a different thing; you have had time to reflect, and you added, "*I have injured the forty-shilling freeholders, and I will make them compensation by devoting my life to them.*" Do not think, Sir, that I call these declarations to your recollection under any impression that you will ever, like Mr. Peel, become an apostate, and disclaim or deny them. But when I know you are surrounded by weak, wicked, and jealous men—when I hear that *Brougham* and *Burdett* are your advisers—when I find that you still hesitate about going down to the House of Commons, and, in demanding your seat, at once do justice to yourself, and to the brave men who elected you, I own I tremble for the result. You are, Sir, amongst the whole faction of the Whigs; there is not one man to stand up in the House to protect the rights of the forty-shilling freeholders, or to resent the insults so repeatedly offered to the Priests. You see the whole of the Whigs more anxious to pass this Bill, and, without the slightest remorse, to abandon, to destroy, and to plunder the brave forty-shilling freeholders of those rights which enabled them to elect you for Clare; more anxious, I say, than *Wellington* and *Peel* themselves; and are you, Sir, to be *persuaded* that you could do injury to such a cause by your presenting yourself in the House, and at once trying the right whether you can legally sit there or not. Why, Sir, it is worth the attempt, even if you created a *day's delay* for your poor unhappy countrymen to have time to protest against and denounce this infamous *treason*, as *Peel* called it, against their rights and liberties.

Perhaps you will say, why do you trouble yourself about my proceedings, Mr. Hunt? My answer is, because you are a public man—because you are a *Radical Reformer*—because I think you mean well—and because I fear you will be misled by artful knaves and cunning hypocrites; therefore, Sir, in the name of the Reformers of England, who are ready to stand by you: also in the name and on behalf of the brave, honest, virtuous, public-spirited, and about-to-be-sacrificed forty-

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shilling freeholders of Ireland, I implore you either at once to take your seat in the House of Commons, where you may defend and protect them, or instantly return to Ireland, and rouse them (ere it be too late) to make every legal exertion to save themselves and the country from inevitable destruction. Actuated solely by the love of rational liberty, and the hatred of despotism and oppression, I subscribe myself, in sincerity, your political friend, and very respectful servant,

H. HUNT.

P. S. If you had the slightest doubt as to the object of this Bill, only reflect for a moment that *Sir Thomas Lethbridge* is come round to support it!!!

This letter, which I hope all you, my Friends, will read twice or thrice over, was published, as I said before, on Monday morning last in London. It happened, on that day, I saw Mr. HUNT in company with several other gentlemen, all of whom congratulated him on having now **PINNED DOWN O'CONNELL**. I alone expressed any doubt upon the point: I said that nothing could pin him down; that he was a political eel, which nothing but actual, mortal piercing would pin down. One would think, indeed, that such barefaced profligacy could not be found in human nature; but I was convinced it would be found in him; and if I am to believe the published reports of what has since taken place, it has been found in him. Along with a letter from Mr. HUNT, or at least in the same paper, published, as I said before, on Monday morning, appeared a letter of Mr. LAWLESS, addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, on the subject of this Disfranchisement Bill. In this letter is the following passage:—"What the opinion of O'Connell is, I think I may without any difficulty anticipate. He has been clear, plain, and intelligible to every Englishman, in his various addresses at public meetings, and I am quite confident he will be not less clear, or plain, or intelligible, when communicating his sentiments to his own countrymen. O'Connell has agreed with me that the present Bill of Emancipation, if followed by a Bill destroying the rights of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland, should be unanimously and indignantly re-

jected by the Irish people. He has followed up the denunciation of such a Bill, by a powerful and practical system of revenge. He has called on the Irish people to proclaim a simultaneous war against the circulation of bank notes, and the consumption of every article of Excise from which Government derives its support. If this be not irresistible evidence of a sincere anxiety on the part of O'Connell, to defend the rights and privileges of the men whose virtue and courage carried him to the doors of the House of Commons, I know not what greater proof he or any other man can possibly give. This solemn declaration has been made at a great public meeting lately held at the Freemasons' Tavern."

Mr. LAWLESS, like Mr. HUNT, appears to have thought that he had got the eel pinned down; and, like Mr. HUNT, or rather like the friends who congratulated him on his achievement, discovered that nothing that they can do can ever pin O'CONNELL down. And, now, my friends, pray pay attention to what I am going to state: on the evening of the Monday, the morning of which saw Mr. HUNT and Mr. LAWLESS so ingeniously at work to pin O'CONNELL down: on the evening of that same day, there was a Meeting held at the THATCHED HOUSE TAVERN, composed of Irish Catholics, to petition against the Bill of Disfranchisement. O'CONNELL opened the business; but, before he did that he took occasion to assert that he had been in the HERALD of that MORNING misrepresented by Mr. LAWLESS, who had stated the opinions of O'CONNELL upon the subject of the forty-shilling freeholders, in the words just above quoted: pray mark all this. Mr. HUNT's letter appeared in the same HERALD, side by side with the letter of Mr. LAWLESS, and, not a word does O'CONNELL say about Mr. HUNT's letter, but he disavows the words put into his mouth by Mr. LAWLESS, though he had notoriously uttered them. Let us take his words as reported in the HERALD. He was about to propose the petition to the Meeting; but, he said, "Previously to performing that part of his duty, he begged to

"be permitted to notice a letter which appeared in that day's *Morning Herald*, signed by his friend Lawless. He desired most positively and explicitly to say, that he had never authorised any one to put such expressions into his mouth as were narrated in that letter; and that the letter did not represent his sentiments and feelings."

Now, my friends, especially you who are Englishmen, and who love sincerity and fair play, mark the conduct of O'CONNELL, and this whole meeting. Mr. LAWLESS instantly rose, but was prevented from proceeding until after the petition had been read and seconded, Mr. LAWLESS rose, and "denied that he had put sentiments into Mr. O'CONNELL'S mouth that did not belong to him;" and he was proceeding to vindicate himself, when there was great uproar, and calls of question, question. Then succeeded what follows:—

"Mr. E. McDONALD rose, and called Mr. Lawless to order. He doubted whether Mr. Lawless knew what was the question before the Chair. (Cheers, and some laughter.)

"Mr. O'CONNELL followed, and with some warmth, addressing Mr. Lawless, exclaimed, 'Do you know what is the question before the Chair?' (Loud cries of 'hear'.)

"Mr. LAWLESS—I do. It is whether I am to be heard in reply. (A laugh.) You have denied the accuracy of my statements, and I wish to show their truth.

"Mr. O'CONNELL—The question is, whether the petition which I have read should be adopted? Is it to be received or rejected, that is the question? (Hear and uproar.)"

Thus O'CONNELL slipped his neck out of the noose: thus this slippery eel escaped the grasp, and the meeting, who appear to have been in perfect character with himself, screened him by their tyrannical weight of numbers, and by their barefaced disregard of all principle, from that exposure which he was going to receive from a man, who, though oppressed by numbers, was there upon the spot to tackle him face to face.

This assembly was a branch of that odious and profligate Association of Ireland, which has disgusted, by its manifold acts of profligacy and of shameless want of principle, every man in England, who has ever read its proceedings or has heard of its conduct.

Here would be quite enough with regard to O'CONNELL: every one can see, from this, the length of profligacy to which he is prepared to go. But do, my Friends, look at him in the clear and plain picture in which a few distinct propositions will exhibit him to your eyes.

1. O'CONNELL, in 1825, suggested, (not received from others) but suggested to the two Houses of Parliament, to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland.
2. In about a year after that, he formed an order of "Liberators," of which he was to be the Grand Master; and the object of which was to defend, to uphold, to extol to the skies, the public spirit, and all the great virtues, of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland.
3. In one year after that, he offered himself as a Candidate for the County of Clare, where nineteen-twentieths of the people were forty-shilling freeholders; and in order to induce them to elect him, he publicly begged pardon of Almighty God, for having entertained a thought of their disfranchisement.
4. Having been elected by the people of CLARE, and principally by the forty-shilling freeholders, he made a solemn vow that he would never separate his interest from theirs, that he would fall with them or stand with them to the latest moment of his life.
5. At the same time, in order to induce them to elect him, and to give them confidence in his future power of defending them and supporting them, he declared to them, upon "the word and honour of a Gentleman and a Lawyer," that the law, as it then stood, would allow him to take his seat without taking



the obnoxious oaths; *and that he would take his seat accordingly.*

6. Here, then, he is in London; a Committee of the House have declared him to be *duly elected*: he sees a Bill before the House of Commons for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland; and, he **DOES NOT GO TO TAKE HIS SEAT**; but suffers the men who have elected him to be stripped of their franchises without a single effort to save them, while he hides himself in holes and taverns, bringing forward in their behalf puling and hypocritical petitions, when (unless he be the most shameless liar that ever opened a pair of lips) he has the power to go down to the House, and defend their cause in person.

7. As if all this were not enough, he has squandered away thousands and thousands of pounds, collected from these poor creatures, under *the pretence that it was wanted to maintain their rights*. Part of this money he is spending in London; and he is sitting, eating, drinking, and laughing, within six hundred yards of the spot of those proceedings, which, if consummated, are to make them slaves for ever.

8. Still more, for it might be said, that by going down to the House now, he *would lose his seat*. That cannot be said by him, without acknowledging that he told the Clare people a *known lie*, upon the honour of a gentleman and a lawyer; but this cannot be said by any body; for if the Bill be passed, *he loses his seat to a certainty*, unless he go and take it before the Bill be passed, or unless he apostatise, and take the old oaths.

That is O'CONNELL: that is BIG O: that is the saviour of Ireland: that is the man for whom the duped Irish are to purchase an estate. Fool, as well as knave, he must repeat, in London, his assertions in Ireland relative to the forty-shilling freeholders. The Irish assertions might be wiped away: he might prevaricate, or shuffle, or lie, out of them;

but out of his declarations, made at the Freemasons' Tavern, he cannot shuffle. I can bring twenty English gentlemen, all Protestants, friends rather than enemies to the Catholic cause, all ready to swear that he uttered the sentiments imputed to him by Mr. LAWLESS, and which sentiments he has now the infamous audacity publicly to disavow.

If the Bills pass (which is not *quite certain* yet) let it be observed, that he has no seat in Parliament in consequence of his election at CLARE, unless he has the seat by the *present laws*. The Bills will give him no assistance in that way, and, fool as he is, he must know that; and now my real opinion is, that, knowing that he is ousted if the Bills pass, and he wants them to pass, he has been prevailed upon to disavow his sentiments in the manner we have seen, and is to be rewarded by a snug seat *coming to him from a source as ripe as a medlar*. This would cap the climax of his progress; and, to make all quite complete, let him, for God's sake, be colliegued with PEEL, and participate in the patronage of SIR MANASSEH LOPEZ.

My Friends, we have strange things to behold yet before this affair be over; and still stranger things before another year is passed over our heads.

I am, your faithful friend,  
And most obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

TO  
THE EARL OF  
WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

*Barn-Elm Farm, 12th March 1829.*

MY LORD,

THE speech reported to have been made by your Lordship, in the House of Lords, on Tuesday the 10th of this month, has excited great attention throughout the whole of this enormous town, and will excite great attention throughout the country. With regard to the former part of that speech, which related to the numbers of the Catholic clergy; to their conventual establishments in this kingdom, and to the num-

bers and influence of the Jesuits, I was sorry at seeing any thing of the sort coming from your Lordship; because the matter was trifling; it was of that poor and mean description which rendered it so very dissimilar from the rest of your Lordship's excellent speech. Your Lordship complained, for instance, that the Jesuits, at Stonyhurst, had accumulated considerable property; had laid out a great deal of money in the neighbourhood, and had, as you were informed, made proselytes of almost all the inhabitants of three adjoining villages. Now, I will tell your Lordship that which I am sure you do not know; namely, that these Jesuits live under a vow of poverty, and that not a man of them does or can possess a single shilling to call his own; that they labour incessantly in the education of youth; for the doing of which every one knows, that they are the best qualified of any men in the world; and that every one of their scholars will say of them, as VOLTAIRE (ay, even VOLTAIRE) said of them in the year 1745: "During seven years that I lived in the College of the Jesuits, what did I see? A life the most laborious and the most frugal; their whole time divided between the cares given to us, their scholars, and the exercises of their austere religious profession: in proof of these facts, I appeal to thousands of men educated by them as I was." My LORD, does it become a great and powerful nobleman to endeavour to disturb the tranquillity, to vex, in many cases, the old age, to check the laborious pursuits, of a set of men like this? It is *little*, my LORD; it is not in character with the other parts of that conduct which you have pursued during this important struggle. And, my LORD, if it really were true, that they had made proselytes of nearly all the inhabitants of three adjoining villages (a fact, by-the-

\* "Pendant sept années que j'ai vécu dans la maison des jésuites qu'ai-je vu chez eux? La vie la plus laborieuse et la plus frugale, toutes les heures partagées entre les soins qu'ils nous donnoient et les exercices de leur profession austère: j'en atteste de milliers d'hommes élevés comme moi." — LETIRES, 1745.

by, with regard to which I think that you have been deceived), is this *all* which your informants ought to have said to you relative to that college? Ought they not to have told your Lordship, that, during the dreadful years of 1825 and 1826, the Jesuits of this college fed for months seventy poor persons a-day, under the roofs of those buildings which your LORDSHIP complains that they have erected; and that they asked no one of *what religion* he was, but fed Catholics, Church people, Dissenters, and all without any discrimination whatsoever? You ought, also, to have been informed, that, during the same distressful times they found employment for the people for miles round their college; went to the towns, bought the warp of the masters, set the handloom weavers to work in all the country round about; paid just wages for the work; sold the cloth; sunk a great deal of money in the transaction; but never even whispered to the poor creatures that they were losing by the work that they were doing. My LORD, I know these facts; and I know further, that these recluse and laborious gentlemen, *shortened their own meals* to the utmost possible degree, consistent with the preservation of life, for the purpose of effecting these beneficent purposes. I know these facts; and if your LORDSHIP had known them also, I am sure you would have honestly stated them to the House.

And now, my LORD, let me come to the two or three other topics of your speech, in all which I have the honour most heartily to concur with you. First, you observed, that the NOBLE DUKE at the head of the Government, had said, that the Bill, when it came before the House, would show that ample *securities* had been provided for the Protestant church; but that the Bill now had appeared, and it had contained no such securities. In an article which precedes this in the present Register, I have pretty accurately stated what those *securities* are to be; and, if this world ever did behold any thing perfectly ridiculous, those securities which this Bill contains, exhibit that ridiculousness in



the strongest point of view. Why, my LORD, it gives much less than the Catholics themselves offered to give, repeatedly. If your Lordship will be pleased to look at the Bill which was proposed in 1825, you will find that the securities given in that Bill, which the impudent O'CONNELL said that he drew up, are much more ample than those given now. In short, these are no securities at all: the Catholics *can* give no securities; and the man is next to mad, who supposes they can: I say that they ought to give none; but this is precisely the contrary to that which is asserted by the patrons of this Bill. Look at their list of securities: they are nine in number, and not one of them, nor all of them put together, can retard, for one single moment, the inevitable progress, the effects, of this measure. I shall be pleased to see the progress of those effects, unless the whole nation can obtain that OTHER MEASURE, for which I have, for nearly thirty years, been contending, and which would be a blessing to us all, the great body of the Catholics, as well as the great body of the Protestants; a measure which would maintain the Government on its present basis of protestantism, but which would be a blessing to, and would satisfy, every sincere and disinterested Catholic, as well as every Protestant, though it certainly would not gratify the ambition and the voracity of the Catholic Aristocracy, and the villanous Catholic lawyers. The measure to which I allude, your Lordship will already have perceived; and here, for the information of my numerous readers, I will insert that part of your Lordship's speech which has so interested me, and so much interested the public at large. I have no other paper within my reach, at present, than one in which your speech is certainly not fairly given; because the reporter makes the DUKE of WELLINGTON notice a statement made by you, which statement he does not give in the report of your speech. However, I take it as I find it reported in this paper; and my readers will regard it as the substance, rather than as the very words. "A Noble Earl (GREY) had

" asked, the other night, what could  
 " be done for providing a Govern-  
 " ment for the country, in case the  
 " Noble DUKE and his Colleagues  
 " were removed from office; and,  
 " whether, in case the present House of  
 " Commons passed the measures on the  
 " subject of Catholic disabilities now  
 " before them, he was prepared to sup-  
 " port Parliamentary Reform? He  
 " would answer both the questions. As  
 " to Reform, whatever opinion he might  
 " have entertained as to the propriety or  
 " expediency of such a measure, he  
 " confessed he had some doubts, after  
 " what he had seen of recent events,  
 " whether *it might not be necessary that*  
 " *some Parliamentary Reform should*  
 " *be introduced*; and if the Noble Earl  
 " (Eldon) who had taken such a decided  
 " and conspicuous part in the opposi-  
 " tion to the measure now in progress  
 " through the other House of Parlia-  
 " ment, for the repeal of the disabilities  
 " now by law attached to the Catholics,  
 " such was his confidence in his exalted  
 " talents, his integrity, and character—  
 " talents, integrity, and character, which  
 " would shine with the brightest lustre  
 " over future ages as well as the pre-  
 " sent—such was his confidence in that  
 " Noble Earl, *that to any measure of*  
 " *Reform which that Noble Earl might*  
 " *think proper to introduce* (hear! and  
 " a laugh), *he would be disposed to lend*  
 " *his humble but candid and sincere sup-*  
 " *port*. At all events, he thought that  
 " the people should have an opportu-  
 " nity of showing what opinion they en-  
 " tertained of many of those who had  
 " made an unworthy use of the repre-  
 " sentation which had been committed  
 " to their charge."

This passage of your speech, my LORD, has excited more interest than all the speeches put together, that has been made during the present session of Parliament. I have always contended, that Catholic Emancipation ought to follow, and not go before, Parliamentary Reform, and that is my opinion still; but if we cannot get Parliamentary Reform; if you will not let us have that; if you will not trust us with the exercise of our own right, we are bound to wish

for any thing that will diminish yours. According to every appearance, the English Aristocracy and Church, (for they are inseparable) will now receive a blow, such as has never been aimed at them during the last three hundred years; and, apparently, they will fall prostrate under that blow; while, the only power on earth that could have saved them (that of the PEOPLE) they will find to have been alienated from them, by their own unaccountable obstinacy in rejecting the petitions, the prayers, the humble supplications, the unanswerable arguments of that very people. I remember, that I wrote from LONG ISLAND a letter which was published in the Register, addressed to LORD VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, who is now EARL OF RADNOR, in which letter, speaking of the manner in which our petitions had being rejected in 1817, I told him, that the day must come, and was, perhaps, not far distant, when the Aristocracy and the Church, who had treated us with so much contumely and cruelty, would look about them in vain for the support of the people of England. I told him, that the Aristocracy and the Church were nothing without the support of the people: with them at their back; with them who were their natural allies at their back, they were safe; but that, having chosen to despise and ill-treat the people of England; and having expressly **COMPLIMENTED THE IRISH PEOPLE AT THE SAME TIME**, and praised them for not being seditious, like the people of England; having done this (which I shall never forget); and having hugged the Jews and jobbers to their bosoms, they could not expect, that whenever a day of difficulty came, to have, on their side, the people of England, who, I thank God, are not like spaniels, to paw, and lick, and caress the hand by which they are scourged. We were punished without cause; without cause alleged, even; we were more despitely used than any people that ever breathed: no atonement has ever been made to us: we remember our treatment, and our children imbibe our resentments. We are glad to see any thing that troubles, or tends to

the degradation or misery of, our persecutors; and we are, of course, full of satisfaction at beholding that that same Aristocracy and Church, are now in a state of embarrassment and danger.

There is no doubt, that a considerable change, and a very great change with regard to the Catholics, has been produced in the minds of thousands, and even of hundreds of thousands, of persons; but what are these compared to the *millions* of English Protestants, from whose minds no particle of the three hundred years of prejudice has been yet removed? You will owe the present measure to the want of Parliamentary Reform, and to nothing else; and to that you will owe a measure still more fatal to the Aristocracy and the Church; namely, a sweeping measure relative to the Debt and Paper money. The people of England are the natural allies of the land-owners of England, including the land-owners of the church; but the land-owners have now an enemy to grapple with, that they cannot grapple with without the assistance of the people; and the injured people will not stir in their landlords' defence. When asked to move; when told that Catholics are about to make and administer the laws, they screw up their mouths, and drily observe, that they cannot be worse treated than they have been; that they have no *rights* remaining to lose: and, indeed, if they would stir, of what use are their petitions, addressed to the members of Old SARUM, of GATTON, or WESTBURY? I remember Major Cartwright saying, when the Dungeon Bills answered our petitions of 1817, and when those petitions were treated with scorn and contempt indescribable; I remember his exclaiming, "D—n them, "they will yet see the day when they "will have to call upon the people for "protection!"

That day, my LORD, is already come; for, without that protection, the church at any rate appears now to be destined to fall; and that protection is not to be had; nor is a hope of it to be obtained, unless the people of England be restored to their rights. There is no doubt in the mind of any man, that a



very great majority of the people; I should think a majority of five to one, and particularly amongst those who are attached to the land, who are hostile to an abrogation of the Protestant Church, and Protestant Government; and, for my own part, I do not think so much of the abstract justice of the case; I am not so anxious about that, as I am about the solid liberties, and the general good, of the people; and I will go still further, and say, that I verily believe, that all the good part of the Catholics; the great body of them in the middle rank of life, would prefer a Reform of the Parliament, and greatly prefer it, to the present measure. But if we are not to have this, I say with the witches in *MACBETH*, "double, double, toil and trouble:" let confusion alight upon those who withhold our rights from us! If you had the whole of the Protestants of England; the whole of the middle ranks of them with you, any thing that could be done or contemplated in Ireland would not be worth a thought; but now, and here is an apology for the Government itself, you have not the people of England cordially with you; and therefore, every puny opponent alarms: power the most pitiful excites fear.

The aristocracy and the Church have been for the last forty years engaged in the grand work of preventing reform; and have been seeking assistance against their natural allies, the people; assistance from all the tribe connected with the debt. The Government has between fifty and sixty millions of taxes passing through its hands; and the immense power which this gives to any and to every minister, joined with the power which it also gives to the receivers of the taxes, who, by degrees, are taking away the estates from the aristocracy, livings and all, have at last made them too powerful for that very aristocracy, and that very Church, who have gladly been receiving this assistance against the people. Look at the immense standing army, my LORD; look at the dead weight attached to that army: look at this body of persons swallowing up from ten to fourteen mil-

lions a year; and then ask yourself of what USE it is, and whether it would not be perfectly useless, as it was in the year 1790, if there were a Parliamentary Reform. But then, my LORD, look at it in another light: a body that swallows up so many millions in a year, cannot fail to have great weight in a decision like the present; and, my LORD, you must well know, that the whole of that weight is and must be at this moment, in the scale of the Minister. So that by the long series of efforts to uphold the accursed Septennial Bill, and all the abuses in the representation, you have, in a great measure, given up the worth of your estates to enable the Minister to humble yourselves.

If there had been a Parliamentary Reform twenty years ago, or even ten years ago, never would you have heard of the Catholic Question. I once, in the fall of the year (I think it was) 1816, dined at the MANSION HOUSE, with a party, the Lord Mayor and LADY MAYORESS being at the head of the table. MR. WOOD was the Mayor, he had invited Major Cartwright to dine with him, leaving him to name his party: the MAJOR named me, and MR. TIMOTHY BROWN, of Peckham; but, when we came to the dinner, we found many others; and amongst the rest, DR. REES, DR. LINDSAY, and MR. BELSHAM, who was, and is yet, I believe, the *Bishop* of the Unitarians. MAJOR CARTWRIGHT cared little about eating and drinking, and still less about doing it in a grand style. He was wishing, at that time, to get the leave of the LORD MAYOR to hold a Meeting in the Egyptian Hall, to petition for a Parliamentary Reform. He availed himself of the invitation to dinner, as a favourable opportunity to urge his project; and the first opportunity that offered itself, after the rattling of the knives and forks had ceased, he seized, to put the question to the Lord Mayor. After the Major had stated his request, and the reasons on which it was founded, MR. BELSHAM, addressing himself to the LORD MAYOR, said: "My LORD MAYOR, I think that you, who are a *friend of toleration*, ought not to grant the request; for the

"people of England are essentially a Church and King mob: and if they had the choosing of the members of Parliament, we should not only obtain no further indulgences, but we should have taken from us those which we now have." The anger of the MAJOR was not depicted in words so much as in his countenance; for, though he was one of the gentlest of all human beings, he gathered, from the manner in which BELSHAM'S speech had been received, that his application would be rejected. I, therefore, to save the MAJOR the pain of expressing his resentment, answered to Belsham: "I do not believe that the people of England are essentially a Church and King mob; but if it be so, still I contend for the justice of reform; because, if that be their will, that will ought to be fairly represented; and if a prodigious number of them are for putting down all dissenters, I say that they ought all to be put down." LINDSAY said that it was the Dissenters that preserved our liberties; in answer to which, I said, that the Catholics had given us all our old liberties; and that the Protestant Bishops had preserved our new liberties, by going with their petition to JAMES the Second, and that they had all the Dissenters against them at the time. DR. REES objected to the grant of the Egyptian Hall, upon finding (which he did by inquiry at the time) that MAJOR CARTWRIGHT had been engaged in the cause for forty years, without having succeeded in accomplishing his end. Whereupon I asked DR. REES how long he had been a preacher; and, finding that he had been such for five-and-forty years, and having made him acknowledge that vice had been increasing all the while, and the devil was more busy than ever, I begged of him to let the devil alone; to give the job formally up, or else to withdraw his opposition to the MAJOR'S PROCEEDING.

This anecdote is quite sufficient to show two things, which I have seen verified in thousands and thousands of instances: first, that the Dissenters, generally speaking, are no friends of public liberty; of the solid, rational, useful

rights of the people of England; and, second, that the best and only valuable friends of the aristocracy and the Church always have been the main body of the people, and particularly those who do not pretend to any superior knowledge with regard to religion. Thus you have found it now, as far as you have gone; but the treatment which the people have received during the last forty years, and especially during the last ten years, have made them wish for any change, no matter what. The aristocracy and the Church, have chosen to reject the people of England; to lean for support on the army, the dead weight, the fundholders, the black-guard rag-rooks, the Jews and jobbers, and all sorts of devils; and the people, while they hate all these, have been, by degrees, estranged from their natural alliance, and they now sulkily stand looking on, while the aristocracy and the Church are at least openly assaulted by those whom they have created and cherished, for the purpose of keeping down the people.

It is a certainty, marked down in the mind of every man, that if the people could all now vote, and had an opportunity of voting for Members of Parliament, there would not be fifty Members to vote for this measure. This, your LORDSHIP thinks, I am certain; and, do you not lament, then, that they have not that right of voting? Yet, how are they to have it, as long as Jews, loan-jobbers, rag-rooks, big brewers, jobbers of every description; contractors, commissaries, and God knows what, have the means, first taken from your estates, and then put into their hands, and then laid out upon those ripe articles, which have been so long upheld in spite of the prayers of the people? Not only now: not only in the passing of this Bill; but in respect to its consequences, this state of the representation must have and will have a tremendous effect with regard to the Established Church, and with regard to the settlement of the debt. Take away the boroughs, or the worst of them, and then the people will be able to stand by the owners of the land: at present, the people are nothing; and yet, without



the people, the owners of the land must finally fall. Give the people a choice, and never will they be on the side of jews and jobbers, or innovators of any description; but the choice having been taken from the people, the aristocracy and the clergy have not the power to oppose any Minister with all the weight that they have put into his hands, and put it there principally for the purpose of keeping the people down.

I am very much afraid that the observations which I have made upon the speech of your LORDSHIP will find very few of your own order to approve of them; but this I do know well, that without Parliamentary Reform, this measure must lead to a destruction of the aristocracy and the Church. One NOBLE LORD, and he a very great favourite with the people of this country, I am sure you would have with you, for he has long been convinced, that, to uphold his own order, a reform of the House of Commons is necessary. He has never sacrificed at the shrine of the mammon of the funds: he knows well that the common people of England are his natural allies; and I am happy to see that he has taken the most effectual course of cementing the alliance. Your Lordship has acted a part truly worthy of your station; and if you were now, even now, at this eleventh hour, to move in amendment of the Bill, to leave all out after the word *expedient*, and to insert, "that there be with all convenient speed, a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament;" if you were to do this, my LORD, which could be done with all the propriety in the world, you would not, in all human probability, defeat the Bill: you might not have six peers to vote with you: but you would see the instantaneous effect that that would produce throughout England; and if you manfully adhered too, as you certainly would, if you began, to this proposition in favour of the people at large, that must be a pretty bold Minister that would persevere with the Bill. Make it a question with the people of Parliamentary Reform and no Catholic Emancipation; or Catholic Emancipation and no Parliamentary Re-

form, and you triumph yet; but no other way in this world is there, in which you can possibly triumph; in which you can possibly avoid the fate that awaits the aristocracy and the Church.

I perceive that the Scotchman who writes in the *MORNING CHRONICLE*; this slave, who, three years ago, wrote with all his might against listening to the Catholics for a moment, has bent the whole of his powers to prove, that the voice of the people is unworthy of attention. This is the true Scotch style and character. The same man has recently abused a progenitor of yours, for having *anticipated evil from the Union of Scotland*. That accursed Union, however, lost us America; and from that land of supple slaves and insolent upstarts, immeasurable are the evils which have come into England. This writer represents the village population of England, as never having had, and never ought to have, any influence in the political movements of the country. This doctrine was brought into England by these impudent Scotch beggars; who have no feeling, and no care about England, except on account of that which they can get out of her. There have been no petitions from Scotland, or at least so very few as hardly to be worthy of attention. The Scotch doctrine has unhappily been adopted by our Aristocracy and Church: the people have been treated as unworthy of possessing any rights at all; and now, when it is desirable for the Aristocracy and the Church, that they should have some power, they have none. We have, for a great number of years, been insultingly told that the rotten Boroughs are the sound part of the constitution; and that the House of Commons *works well*. Let it work, my LORD, and it will, in a very short time, work the overthrow of those who have so long made it an object of their praise. It will leave to the church all the *security* to be derived from the checking the increase of Jesuits (less than five hundred men all put together); and all the security to be derived from preventing Catholic priests from their appearing in the streets in their robes; and all the security to be

derived from several other things equally efficacious; but, it will put it into the power of Catholics to make and administer the laws of the country, to command its armies and its navies; and, which is the great thing of all, to find the people to fill the seats of OLD SARUM, GATTON, and WESTBURY.

I conclude, my LORD, by just begging to remind the Aristocracy and the Clergy, that this measure, of which they are so much and so justly afraid, is in fact their own work, and not the work of the Parliamentary Reformers; and that even now, in this hour of danger, it is the common practice of the writers of your party, to pour out their abuse conjointly on "*papists*" and "*radicals*:" those whom they join together, let not me put asunder; and let us have Reform, or let us cordially pull with the Catholics. I am, my LORD,

Your Lordship's  
Most obedient and most humble servant,  
WILLIAM COBBETT.

#### TO THE PUBLIC.

I HAVE long been of opinion, that a SOCIETY, formed for the purpose of *propagating knowledge, relative to the origin and the present application of TITHES and other revenues of the Established Church; and also relative to the management of public charities, corporation funds, and Crown lands; and for pointing out the just and suitable mode of applying those immense resources for the relief and benefit of the people at large:* I have long been of opinion, that a SOCIETY to meet once a month, in some place in or near the "Wen," having these objects in view, and having belonging to it men of talent, research, and experience, would be at this time of the greatest benefit to the country. It is impossible but *some change* of a very striking nature must take place, before it be long, in the disposal of this prodigious mass of property. The "*COLLECTIVE*" (God bless it!) though in every thing equally wise, and though so sacred in its character as to be

protected by a banishment-law even from the contempt of the people, has so many things on its hands, that it is physically impossible for it to attend to them all. I, therefore, think, that we should come to its assistance; and, as several gentlemen agree with me in opinion upon this point, and have put their names to a paper expressive of such agreement, I shall, after having once more seen them, or heard from them on the subject, publish, in the next Register (unless it be very inconvenient), a *notice for a previous public meeting*, for the formation of such SOCIETY, in the promotion of the objects of which, I myself shall be happy to take any part, for which I may be thought to be qualified. The idea is, that we should *meet once a month*, openly discuss the matters connected with the above subjects, and publish, or cause to be published the result of our deliberations. I throw out as a mere hint, an opinion, that it will be best, at the first meeting, to choose the chairman who shall preside at the second meeting; and, to provide against accident or absence, to appoint also the chairman of the third meeting, in order that he may, if necessary, preside at the second meeting. This will tend to prevent confusion and loss of time. I would further hint, that it might be desirable to receive at the first meeting a statement of the question to be discussed on the leading question of the day at the second meeting, and so on. I have no room for saying more upon the subject at present; but I am fully convinced that such a Society, conducted in a grave and sober manner, would be attended with the greatest possible public advantage. If there should be any Gentlemen, who think as I do upon this subject, and who wish that as little time as possible should be lost in forming the Society, I shall be glad to hear from them, by letter, postage paid, and sent to No. 183, Fleet Street, or by verbal message through the Gentleman who conducts the business at that place.